113, 502, 805, 821

Nomoi	OR14
Puluwat	OR17
Southwest Islands	OR18
Ulithi	OR20
Woleai	OR21
Yap	OR22

/For information on native astronomy in the central Carolines, especially the Sidereal Compass, and the Calendar and Almanac, see 18: Goodenough, OR19 Truk, category 116./

"The people of Ifalik do not count the passing years. Nobody knows how old he is, except relatively, --that is, he knows only that he is younger than this one and older than that other. They know perfectly that many things in nature--stars, prevailing winds, the flowering and fruiting of some kinds of plants, and the coming and going of some kinds of fish and birds--recur in cycles. They even have 12 month names, which could be used to count years, with only the adjustment required by the fact that each of their months has 30 days. But they have no name for the 12-month period as a whole. The longest period they do have, the rag, will be discussed later.

Even the month names are little used. Many, it is said, do not know them. There is a good deal of reckoning by moons, but usually in terms of 'next moon' (ulubwaling), 'the moon after next' (uletegulun), or 'three months from now' (sepelaugal uletegulun).

The month names are names of stars, which again shows some awareness of a stellar (solar) cycle. Each may be used with or without the preface Fale. Fal or fan is a general term for 'house'. Each month is thought of as being 'in the house' of its particular star.

The five chiefs had no difficulty in remembering the month names and were confident that they had them in the right order. But Wolpetau, first chief, said that it was then the moon Aramaus. It was December by the European calendar; about a month after the trade wind became established. But in their list Aramaus was not second in the

trade-wind rag, but midway in the other rag, or about midsummer. (Such a discrepancy could come about, of course, because their 30-day moons do not [8] fit the solar cycle.) Moreover, the order of the names in their list does not correspond to that in a list Sarfert collected in 1909. The list as the chiefs gave it follows. The corresponding names from Sarfert's list are placed opposite, with their order in his list indicated by numbers in parentheses:

Month Names

(Five Chiefs, 1947)	(Sarfert, 1909)
1. (Fale) mairig	maidjik (7)
2. (Fale) mailap	mailap (8)
3. (Falu) eliel	eluol (1)
4. (Fal) ūl	ūl (12)
5. (Fan) nag	lāki (10)

6.	(Fale) mal	malu (2)
7.	(Fale) gu(a	gū (11)
8.	(Fale) tumur	tumul (6)
9.	(Fal) aramaus	elemadj (5)
10.	(Fale) sarabwolu	djalewol (4)
11.	(Fal) itr	idj (3)
12.	(Fale) sotā	soda (9)

Concerning one of the months, the chiefs made what seems to be a traditional comment. During Falitr, they said, there is little food.

There are also names for the 30 nights in each moon. The first night is dark of the moon; or, as our interpreter put it, 'no can see in east; close to come up in west.' He said these terms had no meaning, 'only name'. The list follows:

1. segouru	11. epei	21. kopelang
2. eling	12. olabwua	22. koretaleavelag
3. mejeling	13. olmäo	23. saper mai muli
4. mesan	14. mär	24. kilei mei muli
5. mezavus	15. ur(u)	25. komalo
6. mezaman	16. netū	26. tromaleval
7. mejatiu (e)	17. ilăi	27. arovu
8. nametan	18. alēwa	28. iaū
9. truawong	19. sapas	29. evāing
10. arobwugu	20. avelag(i)	30. erapf(i) [9]

There are names also for main divisions of the day; morning (nijor); noon (ulelial); early afternoon (apeik o tangouel); mid-afternoon (lipelelian); late afternoon (nivegov); sunset (nivegov eror) and night (bwong). Finer designation of time is usually attempted by pointing, with arm and fingers extended in a line, at the position the sun is supposed to occupy at the time in question. Though there are names for stages of the tide, I never heard these used as designations of time.

The people have some interest in the remote past, but do not try to measure time in that area. They only tilt their heads back, point upward with wrinkled noses (the usual gesture of pointing), and say 'Musuwē, musuwē (long, long ago)'. They do not keep

genealogies. Most of them can give the names only of those ancestors whom they knew in life. Maroligar, No. 2 chief, managed in the course of several days to think back five generations. That was a unique feat. There is no reckoning time by generations. As for the remote future, I saw no indication that they ever think of it. In general, their time span is short, as compared with that of some other primitive peoples, particularly their distant neighbors in the Pacific, the Polynesians."

The year does not have any particular name; it is divided in two parts: edjăk or răk is the season, when the west wind prevails, while ĕwăn or niwăn is the time of the east wind.

The year has twelve months, which are named for the stars; (fŭs); they fall into the following groups: [98]

ĕwăn	edjăk
elŭŏl	măidjĭk
mălu	măllŏb
idj	sŏdă
djelewŏl	lăke
elemaŭdj	gŭ *
dumul	ul

Sarfert calculated the 7th of November, 1909 as the 26th day of the month măl u. Each month has 30 days (răau, daŭat), which were named for phases of the moon; they are:

1. sugŏru	11. jalowugŭ	21. wosolăn
2. jelĭn	12. olawŭe	22. garodălu jafalăk
3. mădjălĭn	13. olomălu	23. sabăr măimŭli

[Continued on next slip.]

* a fish; this star extends over the whole sky.

[Continued from previous slip.]

4. mădjăl
5. mădjafŭs
6. mădjoăl
7. mădjălo
8. lamădjăl
9. djuawŏn
10. ăbĕi

14. mădj (full moon)
15. ŭlu
16. nădŭ
17. gilăi
18. galăuăr
19. sabădj
20. jafelăk

24. ilăi
25. gomălŏ
26. djumalifăl
27. jarofŭ
28. jŏu
29. ifaiñ
30. erăfi.

[AN: the names for the various parts of the day have been omitted.]

Division of time. The year has twelve months, which are divided between the two seasons: rák (also ledják) and niiwán. The names of the months are:

rák

1. úl
2. elúel
3. mál
4. it
5. serewól
6. eremális

niiwán

7. dúmul
8. máidjik
9. máilób
10. sóda
11. náke
12. gúi

Each month has thirty days:

1. sigorú
2. ellín
3. mádjálane
4. mádjále
5. mádjafís
6. mádjáuále
7. mádjadfu
8. jamedále
9. jabéi
12. wolawúl
13. wolomáu
14. mádj
15. úre
16. nédu
17. kiléi
18. kalaua
19. sábádj
20. jáfalák
23. sabári meímúri
24. kiléi (like the 17th)
25. somaló
26. somálifál
27. járofú
28. jóu
29. ifáin
30. etáfi

10. djiawoṅ 21. koselāṅ
11. jārowugū 22. karodāli āfālāk [145]

The following expressions indicate times of the day:
nīsoro or nimāliōl about six o'clock.
suorōāl about seven o'clock
jāfālāk about eleven o'clock
uōle about twelve o'clock, noon
jabāl jādolowāu about one p. m.
jādeligōdj about six p. m.
niwarāwe in the evening.

Division of time. The year is divided into two parts, like our seasons: thâu e făṅ and thâu e răx. The months (marăm) are named for the stars, and they are in two groups:

thâu e făṅ		thâu e răx	
ŭliŭl	November	mâlirŭx	May
malŭ	December	mâliloṕ	June
ith	January	thadă	July
thărebol	February	năx	August
eremâui	March	xŭe	September
tumŭlŭ	April	uŭl	October

Each month has 29 days (răl), or really nights (poṅi), which are determined according to the different phases of the moon. The names, beginning with the new moon, are:

ŝegōrŭ	epeìi	xerăṅ
eliṅ	olabuĕ	keretieverăx
mederiṅ	olomâl	thapăs merioumŭr
mejăn	măxth	komăla
mejafîth	oură	komalafăṅ
mexuăn	natiouă	erofŭ
mejatŭi	kirêi	ēeû

emetatí	kaneuắ		efáin
šruobŏ́n	thapắs		ērăpf
arabogŭ́	ewerā́x	[212]	

The day is divided into various parts:

morning, sunrise	nī thorŭ́
noon	nuĕ́l
evening, sundown	nifigắfi
twilight	niga pŭ́n
midnight	nŭ́k i ni pŭ́n
dawn	pŭ́n e nilṓ

4: Krämer--133-134 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-1-3
116, 805 Lamotrek

The months, gédj, are named after the stars that rise around midnight and stand at zenith early in the morning.

Thus the monthly periods have derived their name from the time when the stars are found at zenith.

A. Kramer		Hambruch	Month
ul	Aldebaran	ŭl, ül (round)	September
ĕliol	Orion's Belt	üliül	October
māl	Sirius	mall, māl (animal)	November
idj	"Fog" west of Regulus in the lion	its, itj	December
sárepol	Corvus	zăre üŏl	January
aremaus (...moi)	Arcturus	aremauz	February
tumur	Antares	tumul	March
mairig	Star west of Atair	mai rik	April
mailap	Atair	mai i lap	May
seŏta	in Pegasus	zăta (thaūdha)	June
lag	∝ Pegasus	la χ	July
gui	in the Pisces	kŭi (whale)	August

Moondays

1. segóuru	("we wait to see") new moon
2. èleng	1st moon, not visible in the tropics
3. mesëleng	2nd moon "see the moon"
4. mesal	see the bush from the side
5. mesáfuis	see the stars [134]
6. mésoal	see the bush from above
7. mesëtiu	look down (tiu, Truk, page 49, 64, down, below)
8. émetal	everything clear
9. épei	at an angle, somewhat on the other side of the meridian
10. djuabong	complete nights (in the west)
11. eărobungu	no longer so pointed
12. olobuă	swelling form (ol)
13. ólobuă	good form
14. émadj	ripe
15. eur	full moon, the sun and moon simultaneously at one height
16. lóteu	lot = scaevola bush, which is incomparably higher at the rise of the moon. teu, westerly, since the moon shone down upon them from the west.

17.	kil'li	"beginning of the dark nights
18.	kalovalu	the last remnants of the day disappear in the west
19.	sŏparr	phosphorescence of the sea
20.	ĕ efalag	still obliquely to the meridian
21.	gosĕlág	a little less oblique
22.	gárotaliéfalag	no longer oblique; half moon
23.	sŏparemêimor	phosphorescence a little later
24.	killi	beginning of the eastern nights
25.	gomala	the moon begins to hide
26.	romálefal	pointed, rom, like the houses, fal (gables)
27.	eărofui	stars disappear
28.	eăŭ	on the verge of dusk
29.	fèing	must go away (from the sun) (fèing ilog, take away).
30.	érapfi	finished.

Days of the Month (moon days).

See Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III; page 63.

1.	segóuru new moon	1.	lingiling
2.	ëleng	2.	sigaur
3.	mesëleng	3.	mesul
4.	mesán	4.	meseven
5.	mesëvis	5.	neselim
6.	mesoval	6.	mesaul
7.	mesëtiu	7.	mesevel
8.	ëramatal	8.	mesavol
9.	ëpei	9.	mesaalu
10.	suávo	10.	tjabong
11.	ërabógui	11.	alabugi
12.	olavul	12.	oloboa
13.	olamāl	13,	olomoal
14.	mas moon not entirely full	14.	alat
15.	úr full moon	15.	ir
16.	nétu	16.	ladi
17.	killei no longer truly full moon	17.	gilei
18.	galoa	18.	kaira

19. sŏpas	19. sopatemir
20. ĕ fālag	20. ortavalan
21. garataleĕfālag	21. olabugi
22. sopadjmĕmur (sĕtap half)	22. olahue
23. killei	23. olamahe
24. gomālo	24. tamalaval
25. gomālefal	25. ereve
26. eĕrafui	26. eii
27. eóu	27. erevi
28. efeing	28. euu
29. iéjaf	29. evan
	30. etav

It is obvious that the names do not agree absolutely accurately but are somewhat changed, but naturally the moon and its phases are the basis for the determination of the month. Since only 13-14 days are needed from one full moon to the next, the thirty days listed by Chamisso are really too much, and the same is true of the 29 I have received. This might explain that for "year" simply seikmaruou is listed which has the meaning of twelve. [277]

Division of the Day (day, rāl)

sunrise	tagajeál
approximately 8 A. M.	ětameilug
approximately 10 A. M.	lingárafat
noon	gáŭel
2 P. M.	e pal'log
4 P. M.	atelivai
5 P. M.	atelilŭel
6. P. M.	ě ateluelim
sunset	eatupeál
7 P. M.	nifagaf
8-9 P. M.	nifagaf e mesou
10 P. M.	ětajojo (everyone is sleeping)
11 P. M.	lefagaf tonga lugelibung
midnight	lugelibung
1 A. M.	lugelibung tongaltět
2 A. M.	olimatauat
3 A. M.	olimele malug (cock) first crow
4 A. M.	olimadjál
5 A. M.	olimalemaiu

4: Krämer--276-277 (1909) 1937 Woleaians-4
116, 805 Woleai

Division by Months

Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise... Vol III, page 128: "On the Carolines, days and months are counted and the year is divided up according to the appearance and disappearance of the constellations and thus the seasons are derived. But no one counts the number of years."

"MONTHS OF LAMOTREK YEAR

1 Sarabol.	5 Mai-lap.	9 Ul.
2 Aramaus.	6 Seuta.	10 Alliel.
3 Tumur.	7 Lakh.	11 Mán
4 Mai-rik.	8 KG.	12 Ich. "

(No date) 1899

"DAYS OF THE MOON'S AGE

Crescent Moon

1 Sigauru.
2 Elling. (Root, Ling, to shine.)
3 Mes-elling.
4 Mis-al.
5 Mesa-fois.
6 Meso-ual.
7 Messe-tiu.
8 Emital.
9 Epei. (When at sundown the moon is canted over a little to westward.)
10 Rua-bong. (The joining together (Rua) of the nights.)

Full Moon

11 Yarabuki.
12 Olo-boa.
13 Olo-mai
14 Mares (=Ripe; developed.)
15 Ur. (Sun and moon together on sea in the evening.)
20 Evelak.
21 Kochalak.
22 Karotali-evelak.
23 Saopas-maimor
24 Kili.
25 Omolo.
26 Romuli-fan.

[Chart continues on the next master.]

16 Lotiu.
17 Kili.
18 Kalawalo.
19 Saopas.

27 Arafoi.
28 Eoi.
29 Effeng.
30 Eraf."

[Chart continued from preceeding master.]

28: Spiro--1-2 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 132, 805, 831 Ifalik

"There are two seasons in this area, that of the prevailing westerlies, and that of the prevailing easterlies. The latter is the season of the tradewinds, and enters about the middle of November. The natives largest unit of time is this climate season, which is called a rag. They recognize neither the solar nor the lunar year, but the rag is easily ascertained because of the abrupt change in the direction of the winds. The months in the rag are named, but are of little importance in the culture; most of the people, indeed, do not remember the names. The current month is the important month, and is referred to by the generic name for month, maram, which is also the name for moon. [2]

There is, of course, no conception of the week. The day is divided into fourteen parts, all of which are named, and indicated by the movement of the sun. The night, too, is divided into fourteen parts, indicated by the position of the stars, of which the natives named and identified forty for me. But these divisions are almost never used. The four divisions, morning, noon, afternoon, and night are usually sufficient for their needs."

28: Spiro--65 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 796, 805 Ifalik

"Having neither calendars, nor formal reckoning of time, religious ceremonies are not held at regularly defined intervals, but are called by the chief at the suggestion of Arogeligar, when he feels the time is propitious."

28: Spiro--122 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 805, 561. Ifalik

"The people, as we have seen, do not know their ages, since they do not count the passing of time. The exact knowledge of a person's age would be useless information in this culture. There are, however, five categories of age classes, which serve to classify people, but these classes are not age-grades, and the distinctions between them are not marked by abrupt discontinuities. They merge almost imperceptibly into each other, with the exception of the change from the state of zari-rauwut, girl, to that of tari-veivel, young woman, which is abrupt, being brought on by the first menstrual flow, and marked by the menstrual ceremony. These age classifications are:

Male	Female	Translation	
		M	F
ligau	sauwau	infant	infant
zari-man	tari-trauwut	boy	girl
Tari-man	Tari-veivel	young man	young woman
Mann	trauwut	man	woman
Tuvai-man	tuvai-trauwut	old man	old woman"

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

but they were anxious to learn more. Don proposed a sort of trade with Yani of English lessons for Ifaluk lessons. This developed presently into a regular session, every second or third night, with about a dozen of the young men of the island in attendance. I soon dropped out. The English-Ifalukian exchange thus became Don's enterprise: he had a special interest, since he would be staying on after Ted and I left.

By next morning (Sunday) the wind had pretty much died down, and the census operation was continued. About noon, a Navy ship was sighted off Falarik. The walkie-talkies were again unlimbered and contact was established. It turned out to be a destroyer escort, calling by the island to check typhoon damage. They sent in a rubber landing boat with a half a dozen men who spent about an hour wandering around the island trading cigarettes for shells, and then took off. It began to look as though Ifaluk, instead of being isolated in the remote Pacific, was a busy crossroads.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and finally the census was completed —or at least the first draft of the census. We made out a detailed list of all of the people, household by household, with a copy for each of us, and we kept making small changes all summer, finally making a complete recheck at the end of the summer to be sure we had everything straight. When I think of the trouble we had keeping track of 260 people, I get a new insight into the problem of census operations in a country like the United States. "Census" will never again be just a word.

The Ifalukians did not count years, and consequently did not know exactly how old they were. They did, however, have a series of words for age groups: saugau for infant, sari for child, tarimwan for young man, liveirik for a girl past puberty, and so forth. Old men and old women were called tufai and there were a number of old people on the island: twenty-eight men and thirty women in the tufai class, to be exact, so that about a third of the population was in the old age group. Some of these, including Tom, were adults at the time of the 1907 typhoon, so that they must have been in their sixties at the time of our visit: but they were healthy, vigorous and obviously enjoying life.

Ted asked each woman of childbearing age how many children she had had, how many were still living, and—for those that had died—